1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developped, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

women who give birth by themselves, but invariably people qualify these remarks by saying that such cases are very rare except for illegitimate births where it is more common for the girl to go off by herself and deliver the baby.

Throughout her confinement and for a short time after the birth, a pregnant woman takes many hot baths which are said to aid her by making her healthy and adding to the health of the baby. Her husband prepares for this by setting aside extra stores of firewood in the compound. At the time of birth the woman sits over a large warmed wooden bowl and delivers in the sitting position. When the infant arrives it is washed, then warmed almost continuously by the women in attendance who heat their hands over a dish of hot coals and then press the body of the child gently. Almost immediately there are attempts to have the child feed at the mother's breast. At the same time the placenta is buried in the compound with no ceremony. If it fails to descend, one of the women in attendance hastens to a local religious practitioner or a medicinal expert who gives medicines to bring it down. All adult men, including the husband, are barred from any direct participation in the birth event. Instead they usually pray during the entire birth along with their friends and a religious practitioner who may have been hired especially for this purpose.

During the forty-day confinement period after the birth the woman remains inside the household, and ideally, there should be no sexual intercourse between the spouses. However, almost everyone agreed that this rule was not strictly followed among the ordinary peasant farmers or craftsmen because of the great reliance played on a woman's labor in the compound and in the fields. On the other hand, the first eight days after the birth are universally accepted as a time of strict confinement. After that, factors of wealth, number of wives, the season of the year, rural or urban residence, and personal idiosyncracy determines the length of confinement for any particular woman.

During the first eight days of its life, the baby is referred to as "the little kitten," or "the little stranger." This is considered a time of great susceptibility for the parents and the new-born infant. The parents are expected to maintain very strict adherence to all cultural prescriptions in order to insure the child's safety. Practically no mention of the new baby is made in public, and even its sex is unknown outside the household except for a few very close friends of the family, and these are expected to keep the secret. "Little kitten" is an appropirate term. Cats are highly thought of in Bornu and are the only animals except peacocks that are believed to have the right to enter heaven. Like a kitten the new baby is a welcome addition to the family; and like a kitten it is not really human. If it dies during these first eight days, it is buried unceremoniously, like a pet, in the women's section of the compound with none of the formal rituals given to a normal member of the community.

On the Friday within the eight-day period or several days before, if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent around to each of the men of the town who are relatives and friends of the parents. Similar presents are sent to the houses of all the important people in the village—the political, judicial, and religious leaders. On the same day, women who are related to the household by ties of kinship, or common membership in the neighborhood, or long-term friendships gather at the mother's compound and begin to prepare food. Some of

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

this food is given as charity to the older women of the group who have no husbands. Both of these acts, the giving of the food and the sending out of the kola nuts, are said to be the formal announcement of the new baby's birth as well as an invitation to attend the naming ceremony held on the eighth day after birth, that is to say on the same day one week later.

It is worth noting at this point that these precautions are well adapted to the facts of Kanuri life. Infant mortality is extremely common, varying for example between 122 and 240 per thousand in the urban areas where the hospitals have been keeping records. This is especially true of the first few hours and days after birth. One man in Magumeri had only two children alive out of nine born to him and his one wife, and five of these nine had died within the first eight days of life. Although this case is somewhat exceptional, it is not difficult to hear of comparable reports throughout the emirate. The Kanuri see many of these deaths as being the result of someone's or something's (a spirit, for instance) malevolent intentions. Charms and prayers are used and divination by religious leaders is sometimes resorted to because of the insecurity the parents feel over the survival of their newborn infant. Thus the eight-day period before the naming ceremony is a cultural buffer, a cushion that allows for the disappointment and grief associated with the highly possible death of the infant.

The Naming

Early in the morning of the eighth day the formal naming ceremony is performed. As they do for all public gatherings, men and women go separately; the women, in groups formed into single files according to rank, move past the men who are seated on the ground near the entrance to the compound. The ground millet flour and other foods received at this time as gifts allow the wife to prepare her husband's food during her confinement without engaging in a most arduous part of her work—that of grinding the millet into flour. Inside the compound the women sit in front of the mother's hut chatting gaily and coloring their teeth with tobacco flowers and a local plant used specifically for this purpose. The barber and his young assistant or apprentice arrive and cut facemarks on the new-born infant and then remove its uvula. While waiting to carry out this ritual function, the barber and his assistants cut the women's hair free of charge as a mark of the festiveness of the occasion. The women collect some money for the barber which is given to him after the baby has been successfully incised. The ceremony ends when perfume is passed among the women and all assembled dip their fingers in tiny bottles or a glass, then rub the scent over their neck and hands. Many, however, stay on talking and chatting for several hours before drifting back in small groups to their own compounds.

In front of the compound the men sit on mats. On one side of the gate sit the *mallams* (religious practitioners) reading from the Koran. On the other side of the infant's hut are the men of the household sitting in order of seniority with the most senior closest to the door. Next to them are their close friends, relatives, and the highest ranking people in attendance. The rest spread out along the north side of the compound under its front wall and everyone waits for the name to be an-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

nounced. Every man contributes a small cash gift of two to five shillings, given as a token of friendship and esteem and collected by a close friend of the father of the new child. The money is used to pay the barber and the *mallams* who say prayers to ensure the safety of the child and his future success.

When the barber has finished his work, the father sends in a friend to tell the women the name he has chosen for the new child. Ideally his friend should return and then announce the name to the men outside, but very often the men are told at the same time. Now the baby is a person; it has a name; its sex is known; it has joined the compound and the community. The senior *mallam* leads everyone in a prayer and the ceremony is over. Kola nuts and perfume are passed around among the men and the new father gives a few pennies to each reader of the Koran and several shillings to the senior *mallam*. It is a memorable day for the parents and there is general rejoicing among those who know about the ceremony and are related in some way to the family. One informant put it this way:

> Everyone is happy because the father and mother have shown that they have practiced the customs of our people, and they have shown that they have been blessed with good fortune because "the little kitten" has become a person.

Especially pleased on such occasions is the namesake of the new baby, if he is alive, for it is a public recognition of the respect and affection shown to this person by the family. Very often the name used is that of the grandparent. The Kanuri very often take turns using grandparent's names on both sides of the family although some insist that boys be named from the father's side and girls from the mother's. However, parents may also name children after an important person or a person to whom the father owes some subordination. The Kanuri, like people in many places, avoid using the names of their own parents or parents-in-law and high status or elderly people in general. Therefore the child is given a nickname that often indicates his or her relationship to the person whose name he bears. For example, many Kanuri boys are named Abba Gana (small father) or simply Abba (father) indicating that they have been named after the father of one of their parents. The link to the grandparent is even closer if the latter has been named after *his* grandparent making him a person who is called Abba Gana as well. Thus the grandson can, in practice, share both his grandfather's "real" name and his nickname as well. Sometimes the mother is referred to in a name, or even the order of one's birth in relation to other children. Thus two of the contemporary sons of the royal family in Bornu are called Abba Kiari Kura and Abba Kiari Shuwa. These men are half brothers named after their royal grandfather—Kiari. Indeed Kiari itself is a circumlocution meaning "old" or "the old one." Kura means "the big one" or "the oldest brother," and Shuwa refers to the tribal membership of Abba Kiari Shuwa's mother. Thus one son, Abba Kiari Kura, is called "father, the old one, the eldest," or "the eldest one named after my father, the old one," and the other brother, Abba Kiari Shuwa, is "father, the old one, the Shuwa," or the "son of the Shuwa wife who is named after my father, the old one." Abba Kiari's real name, Mustafa, never appears in these well-known names of his grandsons who are his recognized namesakes. Sometimes a name reflects the title of the person that the child is named after. Thus Mallam Kumbar refers to the title of the particular person's grandfather, who was Kumbar in the court of the king. Or again, sometimes

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

553 it refers to a family event, such as Gambo, "the person who was born after twins." Names, then, reflect many of the social relationships and social circumstances of the individual being named and his relationship to those around him. However, the main point of the naming ceremony is quite clear. As one Kanuri put it,

> We celebrate the naming because the child and the family are fortunate; the infant has escaped death and entered successfully into life; it is therefore a joyful occasion.

Infancy

858 For the first eighteen months of his life a child is referred to exclusively as *tiful* or new-born infant without anyone referring to its age. The period marks the beginning of the infant's membership in society and its most obvious sign is breast-feeding. Perhaps the best single word to describe the infant period is that of "introduction," for during these first few months the baby is introduced to the family, to friends of the family, the neighborhood, the ward, indeed to the community as a whole.

152 867 593 [825] Any jealousy or antagonism felt towards the new baby by its older brothers and sisters is recognized as such and dealt with firmly but gently. Even cats are supposed to be jealous of new babies and are prevented by adults from coming near them. Very often an older brother or sister is sent away from the house to a nearby compound during the period of the birth, especially if there is a grandparent living close by. On the day of the naming ceremony all the older children in the family up to the age of ten receive little gifts in honor of the occasion. At one ceremony we saw a little boy of two and a half being brought back from the grandparent's house where he had been living for about a week. He was brought to the new infant and told, "This is our new baby. Be kind to him and look after him." All the children of the household were given little gifts that same day and told the same thing. After the ceremony was over many of the women in the compound devoted some time to playing with the children and showing them affection. Everyone pointed out repeatedly what a fine thing it was for the children to have a new brother in the family. If during the next few weeks the older children should show any signs of hostility they are sent away again to another compound for periods up to a month or two. At this new compound they are told again and again about the necessity of showing affection and being responsible for younger brothers and sisters. In other words, "sibling rivalry" is understood, anticipated, and dealt with in a way that reduces tensions and calmly recognizes the normality of an older child's jealousy when all attention turns to a new baby in the family.

[431] [431]

854 593 The new infant spends most of its first eighteen months with its mother. However, short sorties with older sisters occur now and then. On the other hand, the father has very little to do with the child at this stage, although he often comes by to see it. The baby soon learns to sit quietly while it is swaddled in a straddling-sitting position on its mother's back. Toilet training at this stage is minimal. The 863 mother, rather than the child, tries to learn when the child is likely to urinate. At first the child is merely wiped clean by the mother, but as soon as it can sit up, it is placed astride her ankles with its back resting on her upturned feet. A little hole is

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.[2]

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

[2] These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

1: Cohen E-4;5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

larly as his representatives. The wakil also makes regular visits to important emirate leaders and tries to maintain a constant check on political developments in the capital and the emirate as a whole. Through this organization and through the giving of gifts and hospitality to visitors and messengers from the capital, as well as cultivating high placed friends, the district head maintains and builds up a communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.

District heads are also linked to the capital by their membership in factions that help to make up the political life of the emirate. In pre-colonial times these factions grew out of the allegiance of nobles to the various segments of the royal lineage. This indeed was the reason the succession disputes to the throne could turn into bloody civil wars. These same traditional factions still exist today, but there have been added new ones which involve close alliances between very powerful men in the emirate government. These reflect the weakened authority of the Shehu, and the increase in power and authority of the Native Authority officials in the top positions of the emirate government. District heads linked to more powerful factions receive better information about the course of emirate politics and more protection when they need it than those related to weak ones. Thus one district head might be linked to a member of the royal family who has no official position in the Native Authority and who has little hope of gaining the throne; another might be closely linked to the Waziri or chairman of the Bornu Native Authority Council. The latter district head, because of his factional membership, is in a much stronger position in the emirate political organization as a whole than is the former. These links to the center both official and unofficial must be carefully developed and maintained by a district head. This is especially true when it is realized that a district head like any other member of the Bornu political system operates within two cultural orientations—one western and the other traditional Kanuri. The district head should give gifts to subordinates, to his faction leaders, and to many other powerful people in the state. From a western point of view these can be seen as bribes, while from a Kanuri vantage point they may be looked upon as obligatory and legitimate recognition by the district head of the power and protection that can be wielded by his superiors in the central government of the emirate. Since such expenses are not provided for in the district head's official salary, the means by which he obtains the wealth to make such gifts often involves breaking rules according to strict western civil service standards, although again such activities might be considered legitimate by local tradition.

The central focus of this behavior revolves around tax collection. The district head is seen in western terms to be an agent of government who collects taxes and is paid a salary for this and other services. However, he needs to maintain a large following who are not provided for by government if he is going to collect nomad cattle taxes. These men must ride out over the entire district—often several thousand square miles—to collect the tax. To keep these men as his tax collectors he needs much more revenue than his own salary. If he does not collect the tax, or enough taxes, he will be punished by dismissal or transfer to a smaller less prestigious district. He has very little choice; in order to keep his own organization going and to maintain friendly contact at the center by gift-giving, he must take some of the district's tax revenue for himself. This makes him vulnerable at all times; to comply with some demands which are deemed important he must break others

To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and are numerous in the western sections of the province. In similar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

178
494 A number of material changes have been introduced which have also had important ramifications. The first of these is the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
178
312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[603] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriv-
[563] ing village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

876 779 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote. If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write 875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam[1]. Prom- [555] inent Malams may be appointed Imams and Alkalis. However, to reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts, ritual and of law.

[554] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how- • [431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils [735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils [372] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so- [554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 779 177 554 The identification of learning and education with the study of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remuneration).

4. Social Organization.

779 593 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As

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1. Trimingham, ibid., p. 81.

583 by Maliki law. Premarital bride-service is not permitted in lieu of the luwaliram. A man would be ashamed to go to his future father-in-law to say that he had no money to pay the luwaliram.

584 The girl is represented by her luwali in arranging a marriage. The luwali may be a relative or friend of the girl, but not her father (except in the case of a sadaka marriage noted above). The luwali states the amount of the luwaliram. The bridegroom may also be represented by someone, or he may make his own arrangements. The bridegroom, or his representative, may accept the stated price, or he may bargain for a lower price. The luwaliram is given to the luwali, who in turn passes it to [431] the girl's father. The girl's father gives a token fee to the luwali, gives presents to the groom which include both money and clothing, and gives his daughter household utensils and jewelry.

583 At the time of marriage, an additional payment, <u>sədagu</u> [436] (Arabic, sadak), is made. Sədagu is paid in the form of Maria Theresa dollars, two to five being the average amount of sədagu payment, though now eight shillings may be substituted for each Maria Theresa dollar. The size of the sədagu is arranged for before the marriage, and initial payment of part of the sədagu [586] may be made before the marriage. Should a couple divorce before the entire sədagu has been paid, the difference must be paid at the time of divorce.

Finally, in addition to both luwaliram and sədagu, there is still a third type of payment, called <u>məri</u>, which must be

His first marriage frequently is with a kalə yaskə, but this is not always the case. Many young men of poor families marry a zogor when they marry for the first time. Since polygamy is permitted, and under Islamic law a man may have as many as four wives, men of important and wealthy families take more than one wife, and prefer to marry a kalə yaskə each time.

It was mentioned that the kalə yaskə takes her name from the hair-do worn by girls before maturity. After marriage, with the permission of her young husband, she will have her hair redone according to the style which characterizes an adult woman. Thereafter she is not a kalə yaskə; she takes her place with adults. Should she be divorced by her husband, she would return to the protection of her luwali. She is then eligible for marriage once again, though now she approaches the situation as a grown woman, and of course, one who is not inexperienced in sex. Attitudes attending the marriage of a kalə yaskə, and much of the ceremony involved, are no longer appropriate when a zogor marries.

A woman who becomes a zogor suddenly finds that she has a great deal of freedom in her behavior. Her luwali, or some older friend or relative, provides her with a room in his household, and men come to court her. She participates in the frequent outdoor dancing in which only zogors take a part since no self-respecting husband would permit his wife to dance publicly. An unmarried man enters into a relationship with a zogor which ideally should end in their marriage. If he is not already married, he comes to visit the zogor regularly, bringing her presents of clothing and jewelry. It is accepted that a man court-

586 779 for swearing falsely. The wife, however, is in a powerful position since she can continue to make life unpleasant for her husband in a variety of ways. She can take to going out a lot, on a variety of pretexts. One day she may visit a friend; another day it may be her "sick cousin." The husband will become increasingly more jealous and enraged at being unable to control his wife's behavior, and may eventually capitulate and grant her a divorce involving an agreement concerning return of the luwaliram.

Children under whatever circumstances of divorce belong to the father, though the father must leave them with their mother until they are weaned. They then come to live with him.

• [434] If a husband has divorced his wife and therefore has not had the luwaliram returned to him, he may take back all the gifts that he gave to his wife during the course of their marriage: jewelry, clothing, household goods, etc. If the wife has paid back the luwaliram in order to obtain a divorce, the husband has no claim to the presents which he gave her. If a kalə yaskə wishes to divorce her husband, she must pay him a great deal more than a zogor would pay, since the luwaliram for her was so much greater.

586 578 152 The Kanuri talk about <u>boye</u>, a jealous curiosity which a husband or a wife may feel towards one's divorced spouse. This involves longing to return to a former spouse, looking to see what the divorced spouse is presently doing, and curiosity as to whether she or he has new lovers. Boye may reach the point

595 sistent cause of trouble within the household and that he must divorce her. If the situation cannot be remedied, the husband will divorce the wife who is the cause of the difficulty. If there are only two wives in the household and they quarrel, the husband attempts to settle their disputes, though if they continue the husband may divorce one or the other.

593 595 The primary responsibility of the husband is to support his wives and children. The wives in turn cook the food and prepare meals for their husband. Each wife prepares the meals for her husband on the day when it becomes her turn to sleep with him. This task is central to the well-being of a household, and to continued pleasant relations between husband and [581] wife. Among the highest virtues stressed in a future bride are her abilities as a cook. In addition, the wives as a group prepare all the food for other household members, for visitors, and for others who regularly come to eat with a particular house- [252] hold. This frequently requires a great deal of work, particularly in pounding, sifting and grinding millet. The senior wife supervises food preparation of this kind, and distributes tasks to her co-wives which they perform under her direction.

[302] Each week the husband gives his wife market money to buy food for the week, and in addition he gives her a small sum to buy kola nuts (goro) and tobacco buds (<u>fole</u>) which she uses to [431] stain her teeth. If he is a good husband he buys her clothes, and gives her gifts of jewelry. In all these things a husband must treat each wife alike. Each must receive the same amount

tend to live in one ward.

632 The net effect of the clustering of specialized groups
571 within certain wards is to create sub-communities or neighbor-
621 hoods within each ward. A neighborhood may comprise people who are ethnically alike, or people who practice the same trade, or both. The bond between neighbors, who live in adjacent or nearby compounds, is strengthened by the second bond of practicing the same trade. Neighborhoods are groupings within wards, within which patterns of friendship and visiting tend to occur
[576] with high frequency. A common Kanuri greeting is, "How is your
[431] ward?" On a religious feast day a wealthy man distributes charity to the people of his neighborhood. A bond exists between people of one ward who now find themselves living in a different town. A person will often say, "I know him very well. We're from the same ward. I watched him grow up." These are all examples of recognition that the neighborhood and the ward are
[622] social units which are significant in everyday life. In addi-
[181] tion, since Kanuri life is so structured and hierarchical, craftsmen and tradesmen are frequently organized under a head. The compound of the headman of a group then become the focal point of a neighborhood, just as the compound of each Lowan is the center of his ward.

C. Economy on the Communal Level.

128 The economic activities of the people of Geidam will be discussed in this section, in contrast to the Kanuri economy gen-

arbitration is encouraged, so long as the complainant has his grievance adjusted.

Carrying out sholo is one of the most important functions of the individual in a position of political authority. It is subject to various forms of abuse, however, though there are self-regulating mechanisms which inhibit the continuation of abuses. The matter of fees and gifts in cases of sholo can be a source of difficulty. The words kunjo and nasha are used for any sort of gift. Kafelo is the traditional gift which the small man, the talaka, gives to the important man, the kantuoma. Risa (Arabic) means simply a bribe. Wushira is the fee paid to the court after a dispute is settled. According to Alkali Baba Kura, kafelo and risa amount to the same thing, and both are forbidden by Maliki law since gifts given with the expectation of preferences in the future are haram (forbidden according to religious law). Giving of kafelo is traditionally done nevertheless.

Before the hearing of a dispute, both parties give kafelo to the mediator. If no kafelo is given, the dispute will not be heard. After a ruling is made in the dispute, the side which has received a favorable decision gives wushira to the mediator. The reasoning involved in the giving of wushira is that if the case had gone to court a set fee would have been paid. When a case is heard in Sholo, therefore, the mediator receives as wushira a smaller fee than would have been paid in court.

Despite its outlawing by the British administration, sholo

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627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan 663 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, 661 because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition [431] [554] of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which 431 he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the [67] case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

627 over to Yerima. Though the wakil or any kabuna may bring a
431 case before Yerima, kafelo is presented solely to the wakil. Yerima denies that he exacts wushira after ruling in a case of sholo, but he admits to receiving kafelo beforehand. He states that kafelo often is in the form of bowls of millet, which he refers to as nasha (gifts); other informants say that kafelo to hear a case must be in hard cash.

627 Many of the cases brought before Yerima for sholo involve
578 marital disputes. Where husband and wife are prepared to reconcile their differences, and seek merely to have an authority hear one another's promises not to repeat the things which caused conflict, sholo is effective. Where neither party is prepared to be reconciled, sholo cannot be effective, and the dispute is sent to court. Yerima rarely brings out his Koran for formal swearing. It is usually sufficient for a person to say that he is willing to swear on the Koran--the husband is willing to swear that he will never again beat his wife, the wife in turn is willing to swear that she never again will curse her husband. Sholo is doubly important in Geidam because the
627 Ajia and the Alkali are extremely close, and work effectively
463 together. Yerima sees their cooperation as a virtue. If he is
661 aware of information which the Alkali should know in order to make a proper decision, he informs the Alkali. In turn, it is clear that Yerima's influence with the Alkali can potentially disrupt the course of true justice, might even be used for individual ends by others. Few Ajias are as close with their

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796 [574] spears in salute to him. The crowd then dispersed and people dressed in fine robes visited one another and exchanged greetings. Later that evening horsemen rode once again in salute on the dandal; this time the kabuna were joined by a number of townspeople.

796 574 On the second day of Ngumari Ashembe an enormous feast, attended by about three hundred people, was held at the Ajari at eight in the morning. Some two hundred and fifty people were [563] seated in the outermost courtyard of the Ajari. These included the kabuna, the more important of the Koranic Malams of the town, and a number of the important traders, many of the latter Hausa. In an inner chamber were the thirty-one members of the NA staff. At one end of the inner chamber, on a raised section sat the Ajia along with the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, a representative of the Shehu, and Malam Jalo. After a time, the group in the inner chamber made up of the NA staff moved to an inner courtyard, split up into six smaller groups, [262] and food was brought out. In the inner courtyard pancakes (senasen) were served, followed by rice bari (porridge), whole roast chickens, and large sections of ram roasted in a hole in [272] the earth. Orange squash was drunk with the meal itself. After [302] the meal, kola nuts were distributed, and after all had washed, [576] perfume was passed around. Lastly, prayers were said, and all rose, said "Allah ngubəro" (literally meaning, "May Allah prolong your days"--the traditional phrase of deference said to [431] men of higher status) to Yerima, and left. Throughout this time,

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796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
574 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bəri, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumɔri Ashembe, at Ngumɔri Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
574 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
[272] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola
796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
574 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-
[264] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

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796 782 Ngumeri Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sacrifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram. 825 The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the 565 blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been 431 sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about 123 a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawarinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th. 785 During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un- 561 like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. 796 431 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the

second day. This is the time for paying the zakat, the alms-tax. Rich men give away clothes and money as sadaka at this time so that they will have good luck. Poor people give away kola nuts and perfume. This is also the time when members of the various jili give small gifts to members of linked jili with whom they have joking relationships (nəngima). As the sun sets on the second day all women bang on their water storage pots to drive away the jinn (spirit) who brings sickness. On the second night everyone also bathes. People, women in particular, then go to the houses of Malams where the Malam reads a section of the Koran which is then repeated by those present. The Malam then assigns counting of prayer beads (tajimi) for each person. Later in the night dancing is held in a central area, and many guns are discharged. Little boys mill about knocking sparks off smouldering pieces of wood onto other little boys.

The last of the important festival days is the Prophet's Birthday, called variously Ngumɔri Kura (great festival), Ngumɔri Kuguibe (kugui means chicken), since chickens are sacrificed at this time, or Mamaludu.

F. Marriage, Family and Household.

In the preceding chapter, the general features of Kanuri culture were presented and it was pointed out that this was largely ideal culture. The present chapter, in contrast, deals with a single community and describes behavior as it occurs

#177 627 691 #829 441 178 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more powerful, and more prestigeful, they tend to rely less on traditional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict, and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is because they are unsure of their own position in relation to that of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him.

935 577 • 431 [554] The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generosity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share what he has with others who have little. The individual who occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295]

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Table XXIX

20. Charity and generosity: If you were rich, would you give a new kulugu (gown) to a man who asked you for one?

	Unqualified yes	Qualifications	
Aristocracy	4	1	would give to one man who asked; not to many.
Koranic Malams	2[aa]	1	doesn't know. If Allah gives, he would give. If Allah forbade, he wouldn't give.
Canteen Operators	3	3	1: "To someone close to you, like your family, who doesn't have anything--you give. If you know him you give; if not you don't give." 2: "A man would farm for me and I would give him a kulugu. I wouldn't give just like that." 3: "A man who has nothing, a Malam, an old man with no strength--you give."
NA Malams	5	1	"If the man already had one, I would not give him one."
Kabuna	6	-	
Craftsmen	6	-	
Talaka	6	2	1: "If you know him, you give. If he already has one, you don't." 2: If I have many kulugus, I'd give. If the other man is brought to me by want, I'd give."
Low-status Individuals	4	-	
Totals:	36	8	

[aa] The youngest malam said that he would give, but his explanation for giving was that, "If you give to him, perhaps you may need it later and he will give to you."

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431 577 735 that you give only to someone who will work for you.

Of the 8 who placed conditions on giving, 3 are in the group of Canteen Operators. Once again, the unusual nature of this group within the social structure explains their tendency to place conditions on generosity and charity. They are probably wealthier as a group than the NA Malams, but not wealthier than the Aristocracy. One cannot attribute their hesitancy in giving to the fact that as a wealthy group they are frequently called upon to perform acts of charity. The NA Malams and the Aristocracy are also called upon, yet they place fewer conditions on outright giving. Yerima Mustapha, the wealthiest man in the sample by far, merely replied that he would give the gown. The explanation lies once again in the rapid rise of the Canteen Operators as a group in the recent years, and the uncertainty of their place in the social structure. Others are not certain what place the Canteen Operators really occupy, and still less sure about how the Canteen Operator sees himself in the social structure. Because of this the Canteen Operator is much more likely to be approached with requests for charity than would be a member of the Aristocracy. The position of the Aristocrat, the Lowan for example, is clearly defined as is the place of each individual in relation to him. Only those who have reason to believe that their requests will be honored will come to the Aristocrat with requests for charity. The Aristocrat and the beggar both know when the request is a reasonable one and when it is not, and few are likely to

431 735 441 178 565

735 178 441 565 431 bear the Aristocrat's wrath if they approach him with a ridiculous request for charity. The manner in which the Canteen Operator wishes to present himself is not as well known and his relation to others, a changing relationship as he grows more wealthy, is not as clearly defined. Many more people will approach him with requests, to test the limits of his generosity since these are not yet widely known. Should he be somewhat erratic in his manner of giving, this would encourage others to approach him and try their luck. In response to this tendency on the part of others, the group of Canteen Operators would be expected to place various conditions on giving gifts to others. They might be expected to be overly cautious in investigating the credentials of those who come to them for charity. [577] Furthermore, since generosity is an important Kanuri value, they might also be very sensitive to criticisms that they are misers (_loku_), thus their patterns of charitable giving might indeed be erratic, encouraging others to continue to test the limits of their generosity. It is, therefore, in terms of the status and role of the Canteen Operators that their behavior in this area can best be interpreted.

177 871 829 562 Another area in which behavior and attitudes involving acculturation can be tested is that of education. Traditional Kanuri education has been described above, and the efforts of the British in the area of education have also been related. Table XXX gives the responses of individuals in the sample to the question of whether they would send their son and their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 299]

On the Friday within the eight-day period, or several days before this if the child is born on a Friday, two or three kola nuts are sent to the males of the town who are friends and relatives of the household, as well as to important persons of the immediate area. This serves as an announcement of the birth of a new member to the household, and as an invitation to the naming ceremony which takes place on the eighth day after birth.

The Naming

On the morning of the eighth day after birth the formal naming ceremony (su) takes place. As to all public gatherings, men and women come and go separately. The women, bringing food and flour, arrive in single file, senior women in front of junior in rank, and pass, eyes downcast, into the compound to the women's section. The ground millet flour allows the young wife to cook for her husband during the next few weeks without going through the arduous task of grinding millet. The women sit out in front of the hut of the mother chatting gaily and colouring their teeth, while the mother remains in her hut. The barber arrives to cut the face marks and remove the uvula of the child.

In front of the compound the men sit on either side of the entrance hut. On the left side (as you come out of the compound) a senior mallam, other mallams, and mallams-in-training, read the entire Koran by passing out several pages to each of the literates who have come for this purpose. On the right hand side of the entrance hut the men of the household sit on mats in order of seniority, with close friends or high status persons waiting patiently for the reading to finish and the name to be announced. All males usually contribute some money (two to five shillings varying up to one pound for high status visitors) as a token of friendship. The

173 554 562 571 [644] guilds.[1] The Ma'aram or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or head of zower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived the total community of women could easily be organized under their leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 554 562 [644] The title Do'oma (head of zower) is said to have fallen into disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today but has no reference to zower. Informants around the palace claimed that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's senior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aram and Do'oma. 554 562 527 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebrations of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office, men's hats,and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and prestige with maleness.

554 562 [431] [476] In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aram has come to mean the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings) which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage. The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aram for quite traditional purposes.

(1) See below pp. 269-270.

634 By the judicious giving of gifts to
203
[431] these travellers when they come to pay their respects in the District capital, the DH can build up a large communication network through which he obtains a many-sided picture of events in the capital.(1) Finally the DH is linked to a faction in the Bornu state which has its most
634
665
662 powerful leaders in the capital. Traditionally these factions emerged
[571] from the allegiance of nobles to the various agnatic lineage segments of the royal family. These remain today but are now joined by factions representing some of the heads of the modern civil service. DH's linked to more powerful factions receive better information and more protection than those joined to weak ones. Thus the DH of Magumeri who had inherited a factional membership from his father which linked him to an effete second son of a former Shehu received much less support than another DH who was linked to the faction headed by the present Waziri
[203] (head of the Shehu's council and the N.A.). Because of the constant contact of the Waziri with all of the agencies of government including the British, the second DH had a much more intimate knowledge of the workings of Emirate politics at the center.

634 These informal links become important when it is realized
662
648 that the DH works under a system of conflicting standards all of which can be enforced. Thus a DH must give large gifts periodically to his faction leaders, to the Shehu, and to many other persons throughout the state. The British see these as bribes, the Kanuri regard them as legitimate and obligatory. Since such expenses are not envisaged in a DH's salary he is forced to obtain the money illegally (according to
634 British standards). Again, the DH's success in obtaining tax receipts
651 is of major importance. One British officer told the writer that he did

(1) See the discussion above on nona and bərzum for the dynamics of interpersonal relations involved in "paying respects", pp.57-68.

286
[192] desirability characteristics take up much of the leisure time discus-
[521] sion among adult men. Cloth or clothing is also an integral part of
[431] gift giving at marriages, circumcisions and in maintaining superior/
[685] subordinate relationships. Thieves, knowing the liquid capital nature of cloth or clothing, always steal these items as well as money, and indeed more often, since it is more common for transportable capital
436 assets to be in the form of cloth or clothing than cash. Cloth was originally a form of currency, i.e. a measure of value, and even today these items are widely used as collateral when cash loans are taken
286 from neighbours or specialist money-lenders. Cloth and clothing as an
291 item of consumption thus has wide ramifications of meaning and desirability as an object of value to the Bornu population, and forms one of the principal expenditures in a Kanuri household.

291 The robes of men and women, their yardage, quality, workmanship, embellishment, and age, reflect structural differences in Kanuri society. Men wear uni-coloured robes or work shirts, and all men have at least one robe for special occasions. Long robes are often worn over a smaller long-sleeved body length shirt, and may or may not be embroidered with various designs, each having its own standard of excellence on an ascending scale reflected in price. Women wear a long-sleeved body length robe over a cloth wrapped around the body from the waist down. Without the robe this wrap-around is pulled up to cover the breasts as well, when outside the compound. To dress up, the wrap-around becomes longer and forms a train, which is carried over the arm, and a long piece of cloth is draped over the shoulders in a sari-like fashion. Women also vary more widely in their tastes, which range from several plain colours worn at once to prints (men very rarely wear prints).

511 Table of Annual Clothing Expenditures of 19 Magumeri Men ϕ (in pounds sterling)

TABLE XVI

Occupation	Male Clothes	Female Clothes	Total
District Head	150	15	165
Trader (from city)	50	45	95
Head Butcher	27	9	36
Money-lender/farmer	15	5	20
District Scribe (N.A.)	8	6	14
Head of Pagan quarter	4	9	13
Owerongo seller	5	7	12
Butcher	6	3	9
Praise singer	6	2	8
Salt seller	4	3	7
N. A. messenger	2	4	6
Hat maker	2	3	5
Kola-nut seller	2	2	4
Ex-cattle trader	3	0	3
Barber	3	0	3
Blacksmith	0	3	3
District Head's servant	0	0	0

ϕ All but the Head of the pagan quarter are Kanuri; he is included because of his membership in the total Magumeri society and economy.

Entertainments, Ceremonies, Cosmetics and Stimulants

Besides food and clothing, the next largest category of expenditure in Kanuri households is that having to do with entertainment, 511 ceremonies, cosmetics, and stimulants. Membership in networks of social • 431 relations resulting from residence patterns, kinship, and marriage require gift-giving. However, this expenditure is a reciprocal one and 511 informants claim that it balances out in the long run. On the other hand, 796 religious festivals involving special foods, such as wheat and rice, or the killing of a ram require periodic expenditures for all household heads, depending upon their status.

517 In Bornu entertainments encompass such activities as going to dances and praise-singers, tourism and visiting, wrestling matches, leisure talk, gambling, learning and reading the Koran, sexual affairs, going to markets when the individual has nothing to buy or to sell, lis-